1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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Some of the people looked very serious and shaking their heads, said I would see before long, that somebody would pay for it. Two or three weeks after, a fine little Indian boy whom I had with me as a servant, poisoned himself by eating excessively of a kind of wild almond called variously the "bri-bri," or "ebee" nut. There was not an Indian in that party but who firmly believed that it was the *bu-ku-ru'* of the blow-guns that killed him. From all the foregoing, it would seem that *bu-ku ru'* is a sort of evil spirit that takes possession of the objects, and resents being disturbed; but I have never been able to learn from the Indians that they consider it so. They seem to think of it as a property the object acquires. But the worst *bu-ku-ru'* of all, is that of a young woman in her first pregnancy. She infects the whole neighborhood. Persons going from the house where she lives, carry the infection with them to a distance, and all the deaths or other serious misfortunes in the vicinity are laid to her charge. In the old times, when the savage laws and customs were in full force, it was not an uncommon thing for the husband of such a woman to be obliged to pay damages for casualties thus caused by his unfortunate wife. *Nya* (literally filth) is a much less serious affair. As soon as the woman is delivered of her child, she ceases to be *bu-ku-ru'*, but becomes *nya* and has to be purified in the manner already described. All the objects that have been in contact with a person just dead, are *nya* and must be either thrown away, destroyed, or purified by a 'doctor.' He can handle them, but must purify himself afterwards. The persons who assist in preparing the corpse, who carry it to the temporary resting-place, or who even accidentally touch it or the unclean things, are all *nya* and must be purified.

Purification from this latter uncleanness is a simple matter. The person washes his hands in a calabash of warm water, the "doctor" blows a few whiffs of tobacco-smoke over him, and the thing is done. But the former is much more serious. For three days the patient eats no salt in his food, drinks no chocolate, uses no tobacco, and if a married man, sleeps apart from his wife. At the expiration of that time, the warm water and tobacco smoke are called into requisition and the cleansing is complete.

Of Gods, deities, spirits, or devils, there are as follows; the "great spirit" or principal superhuman being is called *Si-bu'* by the Bri-bris and by the Cabecars; by the Tiribis he is called *Zi-bo'*, by the Terrabas *Zi-bo'* and by the Boruca, *Si'-bik*. A good spirit, from whom nothing is to be feared, he receives a sort of passive respect, but no adoration or worship. He is rather looked on as the chief of the good country, of the future state, but as not troubling himself much about mundane matters. It will be seen, therefore, that in their theology, the entire family of tribes is essentially monotheistic, although they have taken the first insensible step towards a plurality of gods, in the manner so admirably indicated by Max Müller, in his "Chips from a German Workshop." They believe in but one God, and assert his unity with an emphasis worthy of Moslems

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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776 and yet their priests give him twenty names, in their songs. These names, so far as I could ascertain, all refer to his qualities. One Bri-bri, whom I had with me as a servant for over half a year, and from whom I obtained much valuable information, particularly in regard to the language, said to me, "Why do you foreigners ask us how many Gods there are? There is only one, and that is *Si-bu'*."

The Devil, or devils, are minor personages, who receive no worship of any kind. They are called, *Bi*, by the Bri-bris and Cabecars, *Au* in Tiribi, *AuA* in Terraba, and *Ku-gro'* in Boruca. The devil is generally malevolent, but does not seem to be specially feared. *Bi* among the Bribris is a term also used for a variety of lesser devils, or evil spirits who have special missions, like making people sick, &c. Some of these in-
776 habit the less frequented parts of the forests and mountains, and are
778 very jealous of their domains. People entering an unfrequented region, make as little noise as possible. If they make the local *Bi* angry with their noise, he will revenge himself by a shower or by causing somebody
[753] to fall and hurt himself, or to be bitten by a snake, &c. A person who has once been in these places can return with less risk, but all new-comers must keep at least a comparative silence. Another class of beings inhabit the rocks on the summits of certain mountain peaks. They live *inside* the rocks, not among them, consequently their habitations are undistinguishable to mortal eyes. They seem to have the same habits as ordinary humans. One of these peaks, a mile or two across a cañon, in front of a place called Sar-we, is thus inhabited according to the accounts of the people of Sar-we. They told me of hearing singing, the beating of drums, &c., coming from that direction. The configuration of the hills is such that a glance showed me, that a drum beaten at certain of the houses in the cañon of Uren, would echo back from this hill to Sar-we and thus account for the sounds. These people of the *U-Jums*, as the naked peaks are called, are said to be the owners of the tapirs which roam through these solitudes. They are very jealous of their domains and cause, by some occult means, the death of any one who dares approach their homes. I could not induce an Indian to accompany us to the summit of Pico Blanco, partly on account of *bu-ku-ru'*, and perhaps more still for fear of the people of the *U-Jum* or peak. In addition to
776 these beliefs, they also believe in the efficacy of incantation by their *Awas* or doctors, of whom more immediately; and further in certain ceremonies or observances of their own. I have seen a woman carefully collect a bunch of some weed and taking it to the river wash her face, neck,
[226] breast, and arms with it. This was to bring good luck to the men who were at the time at work turning a stream to dry its bed, for the purpose of catching fish. She had her reward; hundreds of fish of 2 to 4 pounds weight were captured, and of a quality as fine as shad.

824 There is a peculiar wood, of which I shall have occasion to speak
[293] further on, used only for walking sticks for the chiefs and more eminent
[481] persons. The growing tree is unknown and it is only obtained by the

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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Bribri

614 Kipirjk-uak, Edible fruit of a vine clan.
Amu-kir-uak, Agave-patch clan.
616 Tsiru-ru-uak, Ripe chocolate-bean clan.
Uni-uak.
Sibri-uak, Forked post water or ravine clan.
Dauibri-uak, Ravine clan.
Amuk-uak, Agave-patch clan.
Akter-uak, Rocky-place clan.
Kur-ki-uak, Name of place at the headwaters of the Uren clan.
Kacha-ut-uak, Achiote clan.
Bobri-uak, Name of a place at the headwaters of the Uren clan.

776 Pittier, who has published a brief paper on the folklore of the Bribri and the Brunka,[2b] states that their primitive supreme god was named *Sibú*, and was surrounded by secondary divinities called *Sórkurá*, *Jáburu*, and *Surá*, some of them good, others evil, both eternally tricking each other. All men were born from seeds, over which the deities fought. The sacred seeds were kept in baskets which *Sibú* gave into the care of the benevolent gods. The evil deities, however, continually sought for the seeds, and this was the origin of a series of adventures which are still narrated by the surviving pagan Bribri. The skunk is the trickster of Bribri mythology.

773

4:Pittier de Fabrega B-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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of the Tararia, and to the small and somewhat intermixed colony of Térraba in the Diquis Valley, on the Pacific slope. On this latter side of the country and south of the Huétaru were the *Quepos* and the *Brunka* or *Cotos;* the first have now disappeared entirely, and may have belonged to the Huétaru stock. The Brunka still number from 300 to 400, and live together in the comparatively flourishing settlement of Boruca, near Térraba, in the Diquis Valley.

The Bribri have been the object of my special attention for some years past, and among them I have collected most of the legends and traditions I am now preparing for publication. Nos. 1–5 of the following tales belong to them. Nos. 6 and 7 have been obtained from the Brunka. Nos. 1–6 have their origin in the heathen past of our Indians, while the legend of Don Pedro Cascante belongs evidently to a period when the Christian influence had already made itself felt. Nos. 1–4 give us an idea as to what the primitive religion of our Costa Rican Indian was like: a supreme and almighty God, *Sibú*, surrounded by secondary divinities, *Sórkura*, *Jáburu*, etc., some of them good, others evil ones, and both eternally playing tricks upon each other. The notion of all men having been born from seeds like the plants is original and possibly new, as well as the continuous fighting of the genii, good and bad, for the possession of these seeds. No. 4 is especially interesting because of the rôle played by the skunk, that favorite and artful trickster of the North American Indian legends. Among the Bribri and Cabécara Indians, the skunk is also a prototype of cunning and subtlety, and he figures in several other tales which I have heard, but have not been able yet to record.

I. HOW JABURU ATE THE SEED[1] OF OUR KIN.

Surá, the good God, had gone to see his cornfield. While he was away, Jáburu, the evil One, came and ate the seed of our kin which the almighty Sibú had given Surá to take care of. When Surá returned home, Jáburu murdered him, and buried his corpse in a hole behind the house; on the grave he planted a cacao-tree and a calabash-tree.

Then Sibú, the almighty God, resolved also to kill Jáburu. Moving away, he went to Jáburu's house, and talked to him: "O Thou, uncle of mine, let us have our chocolate!" But Jáburu replied: "I

[1] According to the traditions of our Costa Rican Indians, every man or animal was originally born from a seed like that of a plant. The seeds of the several races of man were kept in baskets which were intrusted by Sibú to the keeping of the good deities. The evil ones, on the other hand, were constantly hunting for them, and this was the origin of continuous incidents, the relation of which has come down to the heathen Indians of to-day in the form of legends like the present one.

756 man. It is a question of attaching oneself to a recognized curer who is willing to teach and adhering to a strict training. Among the Cabé-
[614] car, an aspirant must belong to one of the following clans: túgwa, bLɛ̀riwa, sîbawa, sənʃtswa, ǰəǰəwa, múnúLiwa, kibegruwák.

The most respected medicine men are Cabécares and live in San José Cabécar which serves in a sense as the "university center." The combination of theology with medicine makes this important as the Cabécares have maintained the religious superiority of the Talamancans. In addition to curing, all lore must be part of a good professional's knowledge. He must know the songs and "histories" which tell of the creation, of ancient culture heroes, common folk tales, as well as sacred
[198] songs with words in an ancient or secret
[778] language unknown to the general public. These last are akin to prayers and are sung to the sacred stones (*see* Special Paraphernalia and Significance) to see if a patient will live or die. In reality, to be a good doctor means to combine the role of a counselor, a fixer, a priest, a prophet, and a curer of people.

Bribri medicine men on the whole lack the respect and, according to popular belief, the know-how that is accredited to the Cabécares. Therefore, it is not unusual to find Bribri
[754] medicine men who take recourse to witchcraft and black magic. This is one of the reasons why the Borucas and Térrabas prefer a Cabécar medicine man.

Medicine men are paid only when they cure. The recompense from their own people is a pig, cow, or agricultural produce. Occasionally in Salitre and Cabagra, and often when the medicine man travels amongst the Boruca and
[436] the Térraba, he is paid with money. Non-Indians always pay in cash.

756 778 776 **Special Paraphernalia and Significance.** Talamancan religion begins with the great God known as *sibu*. He is the creator of all things and is behind all happenings. One of the most important symbols of *sibu* is the staff of the medicine man. According to the Bribri and the

[244] Aguilar P., 1953.
[245] Skinner, 1920. The staff pictured here is the property of don Otón Jiménez Luthmer of San José.

Cabécares, its origin dates from before the birth of the world. At that time, *sibu* owned a staff which in a certain sense was his monitor. It is interesting to note that wooden staffs which are obviously ceremonial have been found in caches associated with the Highland archæology on the slopes of Irazú volcano (fig. 12, *a*).[144] They are a South American trait and are still used by medicine men among the Chocó of Colombia and by tribes in the Amazon basin. In Talamanca itself, chief and medicine man staffs were carved as late as the 19th century (fig. 12, *b*).[145] In Spanish, the medicine man's staff used today (fig. 11, *c*) is known as the *palo de cacique*, its red wood popularly believed to be *cacique* wood. There is a mystical connection between the medicine man and his staff which is supposed to carry his curing power as well as contact benevolent spirits who help him cure. In Bribri it is called *biǰəbLəkərkeLi*. This literally translated means: *biǰəbLə*, a term applied to the songs of the medicine man in the night; *kər* = for; *keLi* = staff. Only the medicine men know where to find this firm wood.[146]

There is still another wooden object used for curing when the patient is in the last stages of an illness and nothing else will work. This is a balsa log on which the medicine man carves with a knife, or makes rude drawings of, certain spirits called *miku* or *mikuǰeké* (*see* Theological Beliefs): a crocodile, snakes, a monkey, a bird, and a skeleton in chains. The subjects seem to depend upon the sickness. Some are the medicine man's spirit helpers while some are malignant spirits who are thought to have caused the disease. This log is placed beside the ill person whose hand is held by the curer or the patient has to sit on it. A chant forms part of this ceremony.

Stones are another very special part of the equipment, the origin of which is also bound up in religious theology (*see* Sacred Songs). A medicine man may have any number of stones but there are two principal ones with a covering name which is sometimes mistaken by laymen as a third stone. This collective

[144] It resembles the one described by Gabb, 1875, p. 520.
[145] Staffs vary in length from three to six feet.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P. 43(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

756 a staff of *cacique* wood either by finding one in the forest, by purchasing one from a medicine man, or by receiving one as a gift. This [787] is extremely important because without a staff [776] contact with the spirit, *duLar*, the messenger of *sibu*, cannot be made. Only full-fledged medicine men can talk to *duLar*, but the aspirant must see him alone in the forest with his staff. All claim that this is the worst experience during training as one must be absolutely isolated in the dark in deep forest land. Bit [787] by bit one can feel *duLar* approach. It is then that the novice receives a spirit, taken from someone long dead, to protect him.

The final or initiation ceremony takes place both inside and outside the house of the teacher, and is in truth a trial of endurance. The writer had a chance to witness such an event. The affair began at night and there were five medicine men taking part. A small room of palmito leaves had been built in a corner of the main house by and for the aspirant. This kind of leaf is not essential as banana or plantain can be used. There were two rows of leaves divided by a horizontally placed stick tied at the corners.

In the main room, the chief medicine man, singing and holding his staff, handed, one at a time, the feathers of the macaw, oriole, eagle, [825] quetzal, blue bird (Blue Tanager: *Thraupis Episcopus Diaconus* Lessom), hawk, paraquet, and parrot to the novice who also had his own staff. The young man took the feathers and tied them with a homemade cotton thread to a piece of rolled cloth. All the medicine men held staffs, and during the tying process, one sang to the aspirant while the rest sang to the witnesses who had to answer the song by saying "*ékékë*" (good).

When this was finished, the medicine men sat with their staffs over their shoulders on a [352] low, long bench called by the special name of *siąkure*, because on top of it the stones were later placed. The chief sang to one assistant over a small basket, called *siąbko*, which held the stones. These were wrapped in cotton inside two little *mochillas* or carrying bags. He took them out and gave the basket to the novice who promptly put the feathers in it. The singing continued, interspersed with joking between the medicine men.

[352] On a low, four-legged stool or bench the

755 787 [776] The stones are also consulted for curing and for prophesying the result. When one of the *siq* is confronted with a question concerning the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu* who sends *duLar*, his messenger, with the answer. *duLar* is very special, however. No one, not even the greatest medicine man, has ever seen him. He confers with the stone and disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some medicine men say that they have heard his presence in the sense that in the dead of night, when waiting for an answer, there is sometimes a sound as that of a small chick.

784 [776] [783] **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see* Theological Beliefs). It also denotes uncleanliness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost importance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes *bukLú* and if it is his bad luck to return ill, then it is very dangerous. The only way to remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all around the house, touching it with a stick, and then to do the same to everything inside. The Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and *ksisk* (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] [841] [843] [783] [752] The first menstrual period is particularly *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is ever free from tabu during this condition. A pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by this evil which requires a medicine man to cure or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the *bukLú* in her compel her to die.

[825] [779] Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.47(B)--Analyst]

173 926 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn between legend and actual history. Events are reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men of the Cabécares still recount their version of war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150] The following is an Indian account of this event.
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.47(B)—Analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

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Bribri
Terraba

784 825 779 224 tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals have a plant name which is used when a hunt is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the pro- 776 tector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated 753 825 with a distinct animal and is believed to be sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is 774 associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had 756 this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad. 784 825 The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see* 614 Death) are the only persons who can touch 262 buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill 767 the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct *korrebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch 775 tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sənɨtswa* and *múnúLiwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLiwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmburwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 726 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962

[p. 49(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Cabécar Bribri Changuena

173 726 The Talamancan medicine man also used his magical skill and flew in pursuit. The Changuina, however, realizing that the other was going to catch him, came down from his great height and fell into the Laguna of Sierpe.[155] His enemy, being more powerful, bewitched him forcing him to remain there forever with his golden horse. Then the victor returned to lead his men in battle and to receive the surrender of the Changuinas and the Cabagras.

As they knew what the outcome of the fight would be, they hid and closed up tightly the golden treasure before it could be captured. [103] The place they chose is known today as the *Tapón de Platanares* at the summit or headwaters of the Changuina River.

Historic Events.

The History of San José Cabécar

(*Cabécar*)

173 776 [103] [614] *sibubetá*, part of Cabécar, lies in the upper Coen. The name means Hill of God because *sibu* lived there. He wore a feathered headdress and a loincloth. The same place was inhabited by the *usegLa*, *túgwa*, and *tigibí* clans. The *usegLa* visited *sibu* in a nice house one day. He was smoking.

173 The Spaniards came and after they had been there awhile, the people spent two evenings sharpening the knives the Spaniards had taught them to use. The first time the Spaniards asked why. The reply was, "We are going to work early in the morning." The Spaniards did not tie up the Indians then because they behaved so well. Five days later, the Indians cut off the heads of the thirty Spaniards. The Indians threw the Spaniards in a swamp, deep in the mud. Other Spaniards came and carried 173 *sibu* away. This was, of course, because he 776 wanted to be carried off. The Spaniards called [103] *sibu* San José. That is why Cabécar is known as San José Cabécar. They took *sibu* to Orosi where he is today and only leaves to visit his sister in *sibubetá*. She cannot be seen.

Changuina River meets the Diquís.

[155] Associated with one of the seven mouths of the Diquís River.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
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[P. 51(A)] Cabecar. Bribri

538 773 The "histories" or legends of the Cabécares and Bribri are numerous. By reviewing them we can gather some of their fundamental theology in spite of the influence of Christian missionaries and contacts with non-indigenous cultures. The Indians themselves refer to these stories as histories and do not like the word tale or legend. To them, they are still something sacred and apart and on the whole are known only to the *jawá* or older men. They are recounted to aspirants, and occasionally around the fire during nights of interminable winter rain. It is interesting that histories dealing with subjects such as the soul, the creation of the world, etc., are usually Cabécar by origin although accepted by the Bribri. Secular tales recounting the reason for the appearance or the voice of certain animals are generally Bribri.

● 776 **Theological Beliefs.** At the root of Talamanca religion, there is one powerful god, *sibu*, who, as Lehmann notes, has at least twenty different names.[180] He is good and is responsible for the good in the world. He is everywhere. When he is with non-Indians he dresses with shoes, etc., but with Indians he does as they do. He speaks all languages and taught people how to do everything.

[773] The role of *sibu* is akin to that of an artist or architect. He thought of man and he made us through *suLá* while he, *sibu*, was thinking 775 of them. The good and bad people all go to *sibu* when they die if their bones have been sung to (*see* Bone Burial). The soul must wait for this, and if they are never sung to, then a snake eats the bones. The souls of Indians and non-Christians go to the world below, nevertheless. This is why *sibu* took everything 772 from beneath the earth to make place for the 776 Indians there. In this underground domain, 753 there are four worlds. One is for sickness; one for the owners (*dueño*) or protectors of animals; one for Indians; one for the evil spirits. Disease is often sent by the spirit owners or protectors of animals or the animals themselves. This is one reason why the medicine [756] man has his own and secret name for them.

771 The Talamanca religion on the whole, how-
776

[180] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 220.

[P. 51(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19 Cabecar Bribri

MYTHS

771 ever, is animistic. Their world is governed by spirits, in spite of the goodness of *sibu*. Many 776 of these are evil; some are bad; and a few are malevolent. At one time or other, most have had connections with *sibu*.

773 776 According to the Bribri, *sibu*, the great god, had a son, *suLá*, by *sibu amí* (literally, god mother). *suLá* was responsible for teaching the cultivation of plantains and maize and the making of chicha. He also taught the people how to build circular houses (*palenques*). He is credited with placing the Bribri in Talamanca and the Changuinas, Térrabas (Terribís) and Brunkas (Borucas) in their respective locations. Among the Bribri, he is responsible for [614] the *uniwak* clan whose name signifies clan, "seed or race," of the vessel (pot). The name came about because *suLá* ordered this group to [775] go after death underneath a pot (*un*), turned upside down, and thus reach their heaven which is underground.

776 Certain evil spirits are common to the Cabécar and Bribri and dominate their lives. The most important is known in both tongues as *bé* or *ɲa* and in Spanish as the devil. He is able to kill as well as be a maldoer. People believe that he is omnipotent, living in all parts at all times. Another very powerful devil is *bukLú* (*see* Tabus) who seems to be many devils but can be taken as one. People have been carried away and eaten by him. He and the *tɔmí* are guardians of animals. *Lɛn* or *kiritum* is also a bad devil (*see* Theological Myths: *A Tale of the bukLú*).[1] He can take any form, including the human form, and can be more than one. He makes his home in the air. *kiritum* differs from another "devil" of the Bribri, *kritɔbó*, who takes the shape of a dog and walks at night. Another minor group of evil spirits are the *kambra* (*see* Legends: Bribri version of The Sea).[2]

One of the most feared evil spirits is usually called *dínamí* in Cabécar and *díkuɲ* in Bribri, although he is known by other names such as *bák-namí* in Cabécar and *tsirule* in Bribri.[161] He is the same as a bad water spirit named *díkuɲ*, in Bribri, who lives in the sea, enters rivers, and drinks human blood.

Formerly, there was another very evil spirit, *miguchké*. He killed the wife of Thunder and

[1] [see category 116, ¶64. Analyst.]
[2] [see category 116, ¶56. Analyst.]

776 stole his child while Thunder was away in the forest. The bereaved father was furious and called *miguchké*, making a tremendous noise. Thunder fought and killed *miguchké*.

Minor evildoers are the *tɸmí* who are both men and women and can be treated collectively or individually. The *tɸmí* inhabit a mountain called *tabatá* near Cabagra on the Pacific side. At times, one can see their clothes drying in the distance, but upon reaching the spot, there are only four large upright stones. The *tɸmí* [825] take care of all animals. The tapir are their cows and the wild pigs and boars their swine. Reports about them come from hunters who have lost their way tracing game. The *tɸmí* do not like men.

Another bad spirit is *orusula*, an enormous pig whose head *sibu* cut off and kept his blood to teach men to beware of him. He lives in the [753] mud of swamps and lagoons and his foam gives people a rash which kills them.

775 There are some important malevolent spirits common to both groups known as the *wímbLu* [774] who are souls of the dead. There is more than one soul per person. One goes to *suLa;* one stays with the bones; and another appears to be the soul that torments the living. If the deceased liked to sing or whistle, his spirit has to do the same and it returns to make itself known to the person who cared most for him in life. It appears on the trail, in the cemetery, [787] makes a noise, and pesters its victim in dreams. [756] A medicine man is needed to rid one of the *wímbLu* (*see* Curing). If he doesn't do this, [753] the person dies.

776 There are also spirit lords of places and fish. None of these are particularly friendly to man.

mikubru lives on Pico Blanco where no one can reach him. His one good deed is to warn when sickness is coming by producing great flames on the summit.

The *ujum* are people who live in the rocks on barren peaks. The Bribri consider them as part of the original population of the earth before man and believe that they are evildoers.

suLášibí today is the name given to a section of land on the Alta Lari near Lagarto or *toLók*. The Bribri believe that before the birth of the sun, *suLášibí* was a person. He was lord of the

[792] [191] *di* is "water" and *bak* is "stone" in both languages. Jaguar is *kí* in Bribri and *namú* in Cabécar.
[192] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sibu* (sibu) *tsikineL* (born).

sky, *kakəLjtə*, and traveled from Talamanca to Boruca naming as he went all the peaks, rivers, and creeks. He passed through Cabécar also on this journey. His name signifies *eternity* because "he has always existed and has never ceased to exist." During this period, the Térrabas were monkeys. Later they were changed to people.

bukLbru (Cabécar and Bribri). The trail that leads from Talamanca to Ujarrás crosses a peak at an altitude of 2150 meters, just beyond the division of waters on the Pacific slope. Here, those Indians who make the journey for the first time must leave a small fragment of their clothing on a staff. As they do this they say, "We pay equally not to become ill and not to suffer." Those going from Ujarrás to Talamanca, must do the same at *surstsaṇku* at an altitude of 1480 meters. This is because *bukLbru* is the lord of the peak and must be appeased so that he will protect the newcomers. Those who have made the trip before, and non-Indians, do not have to do this because "the heat of the initiated will protect them."

urigaki is an old man who lives in a great pool. He is the guardian of fish.

There are many more lesser spirits. Some of these appear in the myths which follow.

Theological Myths. The number before the title corresponds to the same myth given in the Linguistic section of this book:[1]

(1) The Birth of *sibu* [162] (Version 1)

(*Cabécar*)

sibu is like air. He has no father. In order to come to this world he entered a woman in the form of air. God himself, however, went underground through the four worlds [163] and appeared when the pregnant woman went to the brook. There he was found in the form of a newly born babe. The woman joyously gathered him up and carried him to her house.

The woman had some brothers who were powerful medicine men. They asked her whether the child was hers or whether he was God. The woman answered, "He is my child."

[163] The four underground worlds of the Cabécares are: for sickness; for the owner of animals; for dead Indians; for evil spirits.

[1] [See category 116, ¶¶ 75-95 - Analyst.]

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The Creation of the Moon

(*Cabécar*)

+ 539
82

sibu thought of making a moon so he got *arragropa*, a woman, to make it. It wasn't bright enough so he had to get a man to make a disk.

The Creation of the Sun

(*Bribri*)

sibu was annoyed that the moon did not brighten the world because he wanted to create man. He made a man and ordered him to make Sun. The man made a clay sun and hung it in the center of the sky. It brightened the world.

(3) The Myth of the Sun [168]

(*Bribri*)

The sun is Christian and a man, a valiant man, which *sibu* left us to light up the world. And he also left the moon to help him. If *sibu* hadn't left the sun, the world would be dark and cold. This is why *sibu* gave the sun heat so it could heat up the earth.

The moon was a woman and has no heat. *sibu* left her to light up the night.

As there are both the sun and the moon we can exist and live well.

The Reason for the Sun

(*Cabécar*)

Below us lies another world where the sun goes at night to light up. There is still another sun, however, which never moves but stays with *sibu* in heaven. When the world was first made there was no light. The devils were masters of the world, but *sibu* was the king. The chief of the devils said he would make light because he detested darkness. *sibu* did not approve, but the devil chief made a very small light because the devil's eyes were fire

[168] *See* Linguistic Texts: *divo*.
[169] Today in Panama.
[170] This is a Spanish term applied to Indian graves. It also signifies buried treasure.
[171] The Cabécares claim that the *arbaLu* made the

[776]

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* 539 821 and they could catch light in their hands. It could not shine far, but it was light. *sibu* thought if he didn't do something, the devils would be more powerful than he. This is why he made the sun. He made it so everyone could see it, even the ants.

The Sea

(*Bribri*)

* 539 *sibu* made the world for his house and the sky for the roof. In the center which was in Chiriqui [169] he put a tree. This became the center of the world. The tree grew so rapidly that *sibu* was alarmed it would pierce the roof. He sent for the *kambra*, the lords of the ● [776] *huacas*,[170] who inhabited the world before the sun dawned and who made the grinding stones one finds in ancient graves. The *kambra* were bad spirits and *sibu* thought he could get rid of them by chopping the tree and having it fall on top of them. He only cut the portion with leaves, however. When this fell, the *kambra* held on to it and it became the sea. As this happened in Chiriqui where there was salt, the sea is salty.

The *kambra* later left Chiriqui and made the savannas here.[171] They wanted to work and plant them, but they were bad people. *sibu* felt he could not let man have what they had. For this reason there are two kinds of all the plants the Bribri need. When the *kambra* planted agave with thorns, *sibu* planted it without thorns. Good *pejibaye* was due to *sibu*; the bad to the *kambra*. The same is true of cacao.

The Sea [172]

(*Cabécar*)

In the beginning, there was only a large rock and no earth. *sibu* wanted earth so there could be people. He sent a beautiful woman named Sea to tell Thunder that he wanted to consult with him. Thunder refused to leave, so *sibu* continued to send Sea to persuade him. When Sea became pregnant, Thunder decided to go.

savannas and were the original occupants of the general region on the Pacific slope.

[172] This version was published by the writer in Honduras (*see* Stone, 1949a, p. 20) and was later reprinted in Costa Rica.

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*539 *sibu* lent him his staff for the trip, but Thunder would not accept it and said to Sea, "You brought this for me but don't leave it alone. Take care of it."

In the middle of the trip, Sea said to herself, "I don't understand why I can't leave this club alone. I shall try it and see what happens."

When she returned, the staff had disappeared. She looked everywhere but couldn't find it. While she was searching, a snake bit her and she died.

sibu arranged her in a burial package (*see* Death), but she began to swell. He put a frog on top to hold the package down. The frog grew hungry and jumped to catch an insect he saw passing. Sea popped into the air and became a tree. Her beautiful hair was changed into leaves and in them the parrot, the macaw, and all the birds made their nests.

The tree pushed and pushed upward piercing the sky which was *sibu*'s house. He became furious and said, "Listen! what a racket that tree makes forcing its way upward. It won't be long before it will break the air."

So *sibu* sent two birds, *Tijereta* and *Pajarillo de Agua*,[173] to grab the top of the tree and to make a large circle in space. When the two ends met, the tree fell and was converted into water. The nests of the parrot and the macaw were changed into turtles. The leaves became crabs. But the Cabécares know that the noise heard on the shore is the noise made by the wind when it blew through the leaves which were made from the hair of the beautiful woman, the Sea.

Lightning

(*Cabécar*)

+539 821 ●776 The master or owner of lightning is *labú*. He uses it as a weapon to light up around him. Because of this the word for lightning is the same as to light up: *kapwuphan*.

The Rain

(*Cabécar*)

[756] The father and mother of rain are *karụ̀bikè-*

[825]

[173] Fly-catcher (*Tyrannidae* Fam.) or the frigate bird (*Fregatidae* Fam.), and the grebe (*Colybides* Fam.).

[174] *See* Linguistic Texts: *Pkba*.

*539 *gra* and *karqímina*. The medicine man has to
821 talk to them and to *serike* when he wants to
● 776 make rain or to stop the rain. September is
756 planting time in Talamanca, and that is when
[241] the sun is needed so as the cuttings or seeds will not be washed away. It is then that the *jawá* chants:

Let the sun come clean.
Let him raise above the sea.
Send to the north, the south, the east, the west,
Put on his clothes.
Come!
When he puts on good clothes,
The sun looks good;
But when he has on dirty ones
He's not so nice.

To bring rain, the *jawá* chants:

karqíbikgra, karqímina
Come here,
Come rain storm,
To fall here.

(4) The Rainbow [174]

(Bribri and Cabécar)

When *bukubLuke*, the bad spirit (*see* Tabus), smokes his pipe, he lights it with the rainbow. The smoke that comes forth is the north wind.

(5) The Origin of the Cabécares [175]

(Cabécar)

*589 *sibu* kept us in the form of seeds in a *jaba* (basket; *see* Manufactures). The chief of the worms, a greedy fellow, passed and saw us
[753] there. He swallowed us. For this reason we have worms.

When *sibu* realized what had happened, he began to think about the kind of medicine to give this creature so that he would vomit up the *jaba* with the seeds. He decided on a mixture of drink knowing that the fellow was so greedy he would not refuse.

There was a little cacao tree and a gourd tree (*Crescentia Cujete* L.) which never bore. *sibu* met the chief of the worms near these

[175] *See* Linguistic Texts: *sejé tsintkineL* = we are born. For version of the Bribri origin myth *see* Pittier, 1903, pp. 2-4; Stone, 1956, p. 193. This last includes another Cabécar account.

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(7) The Multiplication of Human Beings[180]

(Cabécar)

* 539 There was a number of brothers who had only one sister. She fed them on fish alone. One day they asked her where she caught so many. She answered that their brother-in-law brought them.

The eldest brother wondered who could be his brother-in-law and decided not to leave the house so he could see for himself. Towards evening, he noticed a large jaguar approach his sister's bed. The brother, thinking it was dangerous, wounded the animal with an arrow.

The jaguar roared horribly and rushed out of the house to a lagoon where he jumped in. The sister, seeing her lover in such a condition, abandoned her brothers and followed the jaguar.

The youngest brother mourned the absence of his sister and went to the lagoon to try to reach her. He found, however, that the lagoon had disappeared and there was a road in its stead. He walked and walked along this and finally arrived at a house where his sister was living. He begged her to return home but she refused.

His brother-in-law, the large jaguar, told his wife that he would give the young brother a parrot but that he should leave them in peace. The man took the bird and went home. Once in his own house, the parrot performed all the tasks the sister had done such as cooking, cleaning, and running the house.

serike

(Cabécar)

* 539 ● 776 821 823 *serike* is the son of thunder. His mother left him to live with his uncle by marriage, *tio político*, and had another son called *cuburə*. *serike* lives where the sun sets. He really is five men in one. When the evil spirit, *bák namá*, who dwells in the rivers, gets ready to go on the rampage and cause disaster and death by drowning, the water birds *trak* (*Ceryle Torquata* or the ringed kingfisher) and *tangré* (the Brazilian cormorant *Phalacrocorax b. grasili-*

[825]

[178]

[180] *See* Linguistic Texts: *səjersə* (people) *jaar* (increase). This is a vestige of a lengthy theological tale, most of which has been forgotten today.

*539 ●776 821 823 [825] *anus*), friends of *sibu*, warn man. This is when the rivers rise. *sibu* then sends *serike* to hunt for the bad spirit and see if he can save human lives. At times, one of *serike's* helpers is the lightning bolt. He also frightens people who try to harm the Indians. This is why when a storm is brewing, first the water birds appear; next the wind blows; and finally the rivers rise and the current roars.

*539 776 821 [825] *serike* chases the water-jaguar from one river to another, over mountains and around rocks. *sibu* gave *serike* a staff to help him in his quest. If this staff is placed on a mountain, immediately a chasm forms causing *dínamą́* to move on. The cormorant and kingfisher also tell *serike* where they've seen *dínamą́*. This is why there are always a few of these birds on the rocks in the rivers.

Whenever *serike* catches a water-jaguar, he takes him to where the sun rises. There he has a large pot into which he puts *dínamą́* and cooks and eats him.

serike is also the hurricane and master of the winds. His mother was killed by the devil who lives above the Coen River on the other side of the range. When *serike* thinks about his mother's death, he becomes furious and blows up the river on his way to fight the devil. Unfortunately, he blows at everything in his path because he wants to fight. Then it is that one [756] [789] of the friends of *serike*, today the *jəwá* (medicine man) but formerly the *usegLa* also, must sing the following song to convince him to stop blowing:

It is not with me
This tree is my fruit
This house is mine
The trees are mine
Go on to fight with others,
This is mine.

[756] [761] Also when there is something making people afraid, or the water-jaguar causes people to drown in a deep pool, the *jəwá* talks to *serike* saying, "Uncle *serike*, here is fear. Come and destroy it."

The next day, *serike* blows and chases away fear. He has been known to destroy a bad pool in one or two years so that *dínamą́* (*bák namą́*) couldn't drown the people.

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(8) *serike's* Mother[181]

(*Bribri*)

* 539 ● 776 *serike's* mother is *itsó's* daughter. *serike* himself is eight men in one. *itsó* ate his own daughter, *serike's* mother. *serike*, the eight-in-one, wanted to go with a woman. He became angry with his grandfather and went with his family to the place where the world ends for four days. He told his grandfather to wait for him. He then went to his grandmother for four days and returned to look for the grandfather. He put on a feathered headdress and carried away and killed the grandfather. When the wind blows daily in the summer it's a sign that *serike* is mad.

[821]

How *serike* Got his Staff

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 The family of *serike* had four long benches on which they sat to play ball. One day while he and his older brothers were playing [182] ball, he threw it too high and it fell into the largest *jaba* (basket) which hung on the roof side. Everyone looked for it without success. Finally *serike* said that he knew where it was and climbed up to the *jaba*.

There he found the ball and a jaw with teeth which said to him, "My son, why are you so careless that you don't know what's happened? I am your mother and you haven't noticed."

"When were you killed? Who did it?" the boy asked.

"It was your uncle who lives in the pool by the cliff."

"My little mother, tell me in what way we can revenge your death," the boy cried.

The jaw with teeth replied saying, "Don't you know that with two chile peppers you can get him. The old man eats chile. Take your hook and bait it with chile and fish out the demon, *bák nemú*. Deceive him as he deceived me.

"He deceived me telling me that we were going hunting *dantas* (tapirs) as he knew I like *dantas*. Why I even carried a *jaba* full of peeled and toasted plantains and made a small shelter to sleep in.

"Your uncle sent me with a dog to run a

[776]

[181] *See* Linguistic Texts: *tserke emí*.

[182] It should be remembered that *serike* is considered

*539 *danta*, but when he stationed me where the animal was to pass, I saw footprints and did not realize they were my own. Instead, I followed them. What I found was no *danta*, but *bák namí* waiting and he killed me.

"Then he gave my brother my head and my brother dug out the brains and beat them into a pulp and drank this with the demon, *bák namí*, using my skull as a *jícara*." [183]

The boys fished with a hook and chile but did not get *bák namí*. The jaw with teeth kept telling her son to keep trying to catch his uncle. The boys became sad and refused to talk. The youngest climbed down and said, "Brothers, you are older and play and don't understand what has happened."

He told them and they grew sadder not knowing what to do except to take care of each other.

When they were most desperate, a man appeared and asked them why they were so sad and what had happened. The youngest, who was also the bravest, spoke up, "Señor, you do not know what has happened to us. Our uncle is to blame. He sold our mother to the demon."

The man replied, "Don't worry. Stop being sad. I can fix things. Just tell me all you know of what happened."

They told him and he gave the youngest a little golden staff made from his umbilical cord which would conquer any demon. The man further cautioned the boy to put the staff on his feet but not let it touch the ground.

Then they went to the pool by the big cliff and the man said, "Try it and make a sign to see if it works."

The boy made a movement and the cliff parted in half drying up the river and permitting the group to pass to the other side.

The man said, "Yes, you can be very powerful with the power I have given you. You can dominate anything. No beast can be more mighty than you. Continue and conquer the most fearful with this power I have given you."

The youngest one kept the power. He went to kill *bák namí* and his uncle, *aroromɔsa*. He slew the demon but left his uncle because when *aroromɔsa* smokes cigars there is a breeze. [821]

● [776] as five or eight men together.
[415] [183] Gourd used for drinking *Crescentia Cujete* L.
[824]

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The Myth of the Water-Jaguar[184]

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

* 539
• 776
823

dinamą is an evil spirit. When the river water is white or milky, it's because *dinamą* has colored himself white. When it becomes a muddy red, it means that he has changed his color. If the rising or flood river is red, however, and not a muddy red, it is because the mother of the river *diminą* is menstruating. There is more than one water-jaguar and they function below large pools or waterfalls or when the rivers are high. Their fangs are large and red, and they have two tails. When a water-jaguar bites trees, as happens in flood times, the trees dry up from the heat of these fangs. When they bite people, they drag them down in the water, drown them, and eat them. [761] It is easy to tell when a water-jaguar has caused a person's death. Their method of killing is to break the front of the skull in two places, and to bite them on the forehead and on the knees.

The first *dinamą* was the grandson of an old woman named *dikú witcké*. She was so bad that *sibu* did not allow her to live on earth. Therefore, her home is under the sea where she lives together with her grandson. *dinamą* inherited much of his grandmother's meanness, and she keeps an eye on him. When the surf thunders, it is a sign that he is about to leave the sea and go up the rivers after people. It is his grandmother who makes this noise because she is afraid that he will not return, and she watches at the river mouths to punish him.

(9a, b, and c) The Myth of the Water-Jaguar[185]

(*Cabécar*)

This river flows and goes and where it ends *oLobəsią* is watching that animals do not pass who eat men. When *oLobəsią* grows careless, however, the water-jaguar who eats men [761] passes. It is then that people drown. What

[184] Known also as: *dinamą, bák-namą, ják namá tsirute*, and *dikun* or *dikum*.

[185] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ják namą* (stone-jaguar) *dinamą* (water-jaguar). Also see The Myth of *óknamą* and Linguistic Texts: *ók-nam-gte*.

* 539 ●776 823 [761] really happens to them is that they are eaten by the water-jaguar.

oLobəsią becomes aware that *dínamą́* has gone by him to catch men when he notes that the rivers are flooded and wind storms strike. Then he sends one of his subalterns to capture him. This person usually is *serike*. *serike* follows the water-jaguar all over until finally this evil animal hides under the mountain ranges and refuses to come out. At this point *bukubLə* appears to aid *serike* and together they route out the water-jaguar and take him to *oLobəsią*. This personage is delighted and eats the water-jaguar.

(10) *serike* AND *dínamą́*

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 823 821 [731] The river flows downward and reaches the mouth where *oLobəsią*[186] stays to support the water. *dínamą́* passes here and eats us when the river is in flood. When there is a bad flood, it carries people away and *dínamą́* eats them.

Then *serike* in the form of a hurricane comes to take him away, hiding him beneath a hill. From here, hurricane carries him to *oLobəsią* to eat.

When hurricane *serike* comes, he arrives with wind and rain, and the river rises. He goes to the King of the Wind to fight because this king carried off his mother to have as a wife.[187] When this happened, hurricane was a child. He did not see his mother carried away. He grew up and learned that his mother had been swallowed. Then the King of the Wind sold everything. This is why hurricane takes everything he finds. He takes the devil to *oLobəsią* for him to eat. When the earth makes a noise, this is *oLobəsią*.

(11) THE MYTH OF *óknamą́te*[188]

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 823 761 *óknamą́* is a spirit who protects men. He lives where the rivers meet the sea (at the river's mouth). Pregnant women, however,

[186] *oLo* is buzzard in Cabécar. *sią́* are the sacred stones of the medicine men.

[187] Compare this with "How *serike* got his staff."

[188] *See* Linguistic Texts: *ók-namą́-te* (jaguar he). Also see The Myth of the Water-Jaguar and *onombrastɛ́n*, and Linguistic Texts: *di-namą́*.

make him sleep. It is then that the water-jaguar takes advantage and goes upstream. He searches for cacao, and when he discovers a well-ripened pod he breaks it open. This is when people drown because the water-jaguar goes from pool to pool inviting them to drink cacao with him. Wise people refuse because they know if they accept, they must die.

The water-jaguar, nevertheless, continues from pool to pool insisting on being accompanied until finally someone approaches and drinks with him. Instead of cacao, however, the liquid is blood from the corpse. Once the feast is over, the empty pod is thrown out of the river. This is when we find the body of the drowned person.

At this very moment, *óknamą* awakes and notes that the water-jaguar has passed him. He realizes this because the plants are spotted.[189] Then he sends *serike* to fetch the water-jaguar and all those who drank cacao with him. When all are in front of *óknamą*, he has them cooked in a large pot and eats the victims and water-jaguar.

(12) *onombrasén*[190]

(*Cabécar*)

When the rivers rise, the water-jaguar goes up and down inviting people to drink cacao with him. Most people refuse, but he always gets some. It is then that the water-jaguar drinks their blood as if it were cacao.

onombrasén, who is a spirit who looks after people, is warned by the cormorant and kingfisher. They tell him where the water-jaguar is drowning people by drinking their blood for cacao.

(13) The Myth of *Mano del Tigre*[191]

(*Cabécar*)

Mano del Tigre is one of the large savannas through which lies the trail from Buenos Aires to Boruca. Curiously enough it is found on almost all the maps of Costa Rica, from the earliest times to the present. There is nothing

[189] After a flood, the water leaves its mark on the vegetation along the river banks. Stone jaguar is sometimes substituted for water jaguar.

[190] *See* Linguistic Texts: *onombrasén*. Compare with The Myth of *óknamąte*.

[191] *See* Linguistic Texts: *namą tš* (jaguar print).

Sickness

(*Cabécar*)

*539 753 [776] *Laraya* is the house of sickness and it is located under the spot where the sun rises. The lords or owners of sickness are known as the *aragopa* or *roaragopa*. They were the first people in the world, but *sibu* told them they would have to go below where the sun comes from as the people he would make would be sick if they stayed.

[756] [755] This is why the medicine men take a staff and say to sickness, "You have no right to be here as *sibu* gave you a place to stay. Go to your place." If the medicine man talks enough, sickness leaves as he realizes that *sibu* can send him away and he does not like this.

Clan Protectors

(*Cabécar*)

*539 614 [825] All protectors of clans come from where the sun rises. Formerly, each group and person in it had a figure of bone or stone or gold symbolizing this. The *usegLa* are protected by the jaguar and the crab. It was the crab who found water for them. He went to a dry place and dug halfway down. Water came up behind him.

The *tigibí* clan are a branch of the *usegLa* and have the same protectors. This group started when there were only men in the world. One day two men went to work and on their return found food prepared. They ate and liked it. This continued for thirty days. Then when they arrived home, they discovered twin girls. The men asked if they had fixed the food, and when the twins admitted that they were the ones, the men decided to live with them.

[776] The *sirakwa* are people who live under the earth. They protect the *túgwa*. For this reason, the *túgwa's* symbol is the figure of a person.

[824] The *guacal* or gourd tree has four branches and protects four groups. The first branch is symbolic of the *sibawak* clan to whom most of the Cabécar Singers belonged. This is why they used a gourd full of seeds to accompany their songs. The second branch of the tree belongs to the *bLeriwa*, the third to the *kibe-*

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*589 [535] taught people how to dance and to sing the *following song:*

sibu came in the form of a buzzard
dressed as a man,
Collar on his neck.
The collar reflected,
He came with the collar
Ejené, ekujé,[199]
Ejené, eanjé,[199]
He came to give us the dance
He came from the air.
Ejené, ekujé,
Ejené, eanjé.

A Tale of the *bukLú*

(*Bribri*)

Two men were hunting tapir and hit one with an arrow. Suddenly, a big man appeared carrying a rifle and told them to meet him below. He went and shot and the men realized that the rifle was Thunder. A short while later, a man came with a two-headed serpent tied in a coil with pita string. He told them to follow him.

They reached a beautiful house which was a lagoon where *bukLú* lived. He ate the snake and one man was taken inside to be eaten. *bukLú* was in a hammock in the center of the house with many devils, the *kiritum*, seated beside him facing the wall in order not to look at him. The man sat by *bukLú* who proceeded to make him a medicine man.

After two months of study at night with *bukLú*, the man returned to his village. There he told his people that they should not wound [825] animals without killing them because he had to take care of them. He showed them quantities of arrows which he had taken from wounded ones.

sutá

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

[776] *sutá* was *sibu's* grandmother. She created the first human beings from clay and kept the sperm of all human races in a basket.

[172] [199] Pre-Columbian gold figures of buzzards with a collar are frequently found in graves. The collars recall the actual bead ones of the Guaymí of Panama.

[533] [199] This has no meaning but is used for the sound and to emphasize the beat.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P-65(A)]
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

duLi

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 312 757 [262] In the upper Coen, there are hot water holes called *duLi*. These were left by *sibu* so the Cabécares could cure their sores. When they bathe here, they cannot touch meat or salt for fifteen days.

The Pejibaye

(*Bribri*)

* 539 824 846 *sibu* gave the *pejibaye* to the first people who were called *kabLawak*. Because of this one has to bathe with the fruit after a child is born, and in the early morning, chew it up and spit it out.

(16) Tobacco[200]

(*Bribri*)

* 539 276 [261] *sibu* was alone thinking and smoking when a little *gorrion* came and asked him what he was smoking and to give him some. *sibu* said that it was tobacco grown in Talamanca in the tobacco patch. That is why one can ask for tobacco. One cannot ask for food, however.

Cacao (Chocolate)

(*Cabécar*)

* 539 776 *sibu* had four wives whose names were *siru*, *soro*, *tiŋə* and *spaLbu*. Most of them had their faults and did not make life easy for him. *soro* never wanted to cook the birds that *sibu* brought in from the hunt. *tiŋə* always moved her hammock far away. *spaLbu*, the most beautiful of all, always hung her hammock very high out of *sibu's* reach. In fact, the only wife who did everything he wanted and was always nice to him was *siru*, the ugly one.

Suddenly, however, *siru*, the ugly one, found herself transformed. *sibu* turned to her and said, "From now on, everyone will love you. You are the good one."

* 539 824 This is why there are four kinds of cacao in Costa Rica, and why the people of Talamanca call the best kind *siru* (*Theobroma cacao* L.). The *pataste* (*Theobroma bicolor*

[200] *See* Linguistic Texts: *dua* (tobacco).

[P.70(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

535 example, *burete* is performed by a line of men; *busiki* is with men and women in the same line; *buLtakuLe* is usually a line of men but there may be one of women. When one sex dances, the arm is interlocked at the elbow with the next in line. Women and men put their hand on the shoulder of the person in front. The single line step is the first one used in the circle dance. Twenty people or less participate in these lines. The drum is held under the arms [533] of the male dancers. Females do not play them.

535 773 The common dances among the Bribri are those of the buzzard and the monkey. Each has its own explanation. The first one is said to have originated because the boss of the buzzards went to *sibu* to learn to sing and dance. He learned and came to earth wearing a collar and showed man how to sing and dance (*see* Theological Myths: *The Dance*). Some versions hold that it was *sibu* himself in the form of a buzzard who did this and not the boss of these birds. He wore a collar and taught human beings to dance in a circle because the buzzards after eating fly in a circle.[206] When he finished his task, he retired to where the sun lives.

The monkey dance is supposed to have been taught to man by the grandfather of the Congo monkey who learned this from *sibu*. Its prime purpose is to have man happy (*see* Lay Songs: *buL-ikLək*).

535 342 Another celebration to do with happiness and good luck is seen in Talamanca among the Bribri when a new home is to be occupied.

532 The whole ceremony is known as *itsǫ́* (*see* Songs), taking its name from the *disaplina* palm (*itsǫ́* or *kǫmat* in Bribri; *Chamaedorea* sp.) from which the mask is made today. The beard of the face is Spanish moss. After the inauguration of a house, the mask, which is supposed to assure the longevity of the family who are to inhabit the new home, is hidden and the celebrants have to hunt for it before the dance can be performed.

535 224 533 Segarra and Julía[207] describe a hunter's

[776] [172] [171] [206] This interpretation of God in buzzard form wearing a collar is reflected in the gold figures found in ancient graves. The style and form of the collars associated with these figures are similar to the bead ones used today by the Guaymí Indians of northwestern Panama.

(21) *duLetɔ*[212]

(*Bribri*)

* 539
533

Old timers, let's go;
Let's dance.
Now let's walk forward;
There's a place to see, old timers;
There's no place to see.
masLakésLa, the mountain, touches the river.
Let's go.

(22) Song for Cutting Wood for a House[213]

(*Bribri*)

We are going to tear down the house of *itsó*
where we went to hide
and when we reach our house with it
then we shall sing.

(23) Sister[214]

(*Bribri*)

Where sister, little ugly sister,
Where are you standing?
In what place are you coming on a raft?
Or in what place are you going.

(24) Lullaby,[215] Version 1

(*Bribri*)

Hush little one.
Don't you cry dear child
Sleep quietly
Why cry little one, baby.
Sleep, sleep, quietly sleep
Mother has gone to bring you a flower
Little ugly one, sleep quietly.

Lullaby, Version 2

(*Bribri*)

Little child, don't you cry, don't cry
While your mother goes to bring plantains.
Don't cry while your mother goes to plant cuttings.

● [776]
[342]

[212] *itsó* is a spirit who doesn't die so they sing this in the belief that the house will last a long time. *See* Linguistic Texts: *itsó*.
[214] *See* Linguistic Texts: *tɔ̃ɔ̃e*. This song is sung frequently by women when working.
[215] *See* Linguistic Texts: *aLaLa bua*.

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

539 stone jaguar small. *oLobasjᵩ*[555] [who is a] man was watching. He slept. (*Z*) He saw [that the stone jaguar] had passed. He sent the kingfisher [and] the cormorant after [him]. He awoke. He sent searchers. *oLobasjᵩ* was going to eat him. He passed through the center of the sea. He remained on the earth.

9b. The Water-Jaguar (*Cabécar*, another version of the Stone Jaguar)

1. I am going to tell about the water-jaguar. *sibu* made this earth for us. A man was guarding it. He fell asleep. Meanwhile he [the water-jaguar] passed. He woke up. . (*Z*) Then *seribe* sent a cormorant to look for him [the water-jaguar] to eat. The road of the water-jaguar goes within the sea. He stays here in this place.

9c. The Water-Jaguar (*Cabécar*) (Version 3)

1. [The water-jaguar] goes up the flowing river. *oLobasjᵩ* is there where this river ends. The water-jaguar goes up this [i.e., the river]. He eats us. When the river rises high, then the water carries us away. Then he eats us.

2. Then *seribe* comes to carry him beneath the mountains. [From] there he takes the water-jaguar [and] carries him to *oLobasjᵩ*. (*Z*) *seribe* comes. He comes with wind, with rainstorms. The river rises [and] he arrives to fight with *ñukuhLuru* who carried off the mother of *seribe*.

3. To this place he carries everything he finds as he carries the devil to give him to *oLobasjᵩ* to eat. When it thunders then *oLobasjᵩ* [is] hungry.

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oLobasjᵩ jošišiwa mege iswᵩ. kapawᵩ. (*Z*) swᵩitera ikawmi. trak patkaite, tᵩgLo patkaite itagi. ĩkjnagᵩ. išulek patkaite. oLobasiᵩ-te i-kste-gᵴwa. tkugeu dəše[555] ĩanᵩ. atanagᵩ ji kᵩgi sokəta.

9b. dĩ-namᵩ

1. šis mᵩ išo dĩ-namᵩ. kᵩ ji šuá sibote sojeᵩᵩ. jošĩĩíwá kíLu ikénana. i-kapéᵩa. jedLéiaka i-jkáju. ĩkjnaga. (*Z*) jégipa serikete tágLo patkí išoLo kstéite. dĩ-namᵩ ᵩ́Lo tkówé dəše ĩawᵩ. jiska kᵩgi i-atanágᵩ.

9c. dĩ-namᵩ

1. jĩ digLo ramíu jenena ĩtkugeᵩra. oLobasiᵩ kíLme jĩ digLo ᵩ́jkulə ška. dĩ-namᵩ rogeteu jete sejé kstégewᵩ. míga digLo paɾ tai, jera digLowᵩ so manᵩtaᵩmi. jera jiete so katéwᵩ.

2. jera serike botagene itaᵩmi kᵩbta ᵩina. jéka jiete i-šegesᵩ míga-ne oLobasiᵩ ja. (*Z*) serike botagᵩra. idatse ajwᵩ ra kLjra. digLo paɾ gera bukubLura náipagᵩ serikera jenero imina-ná maLetLotaejwa.

3. kᵩ jéró bigúLe kuᵩite nᵩbi boiro je ᵩipᵩneiwᵩ oLobasiᵩ chowᵩ-gLo. míga kᵩ buLᵩrge jera oLobasiᵩ blĩlaté.

[776] [555] Many spirit names are formed by components of the words for the sacred stones and the bumeral (see Songs: *Song of the Bumeral Dance*) or by the words themselves. Thus in *oLobasjᵩ* we have *oLo* (bumeral in Cabécar; in Bribri *oLo*) and *sjᵩ* (the over-all term for the sacred stones).

[555] Also means "salt."

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

*539

10. *sirike* and the Water-Jaguar (*Cabécar*)

1. I am going to tell about the water-jaguar. In the beginning *sibu* made this place for us. A man was guarding it. He fell asleep. Meanwhile the water-jaguar passed. He woke up. (*Z*) Then *sirike* sent the cormorant to look for [him so that] he could eat [him]. The road of the water-jaguar passes through the sea. Here in this place he remained.

11. *ök-namą-te*[371] (*Cabécar*)

1. *ök-namą-te* protects us. In the time of[372] pregnancy then he sleeps. Then the water-jaguar passes to bother us. When we drown[373] in the water then he drinks us like cacao. (*Z*) He considers[374] us as ripe cacao. He breaks [it[375] and] he puts [it] on his back. He goes with this from pool to pool[376] [saying] "let's drink cacao." People do not believe him.

2. Where the owner of the pool says, "Good," then there he drinks us. Then he throws away our body. Then *ök-namą* awakes. He sees [that] the weeds are dry.[377] Then he passes quickly. He sends the cormorant to look for [him] with *sirike*.

3. The water-jaguar [is] bad. Because of this he hides far away. But there *sirike* takes [him]. (*Z*) All who drink cacao like this *sirike* carries all to *ök-namą*.

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10. serikete dí-namą

1. šis mą ilo dí-namą. ką jí šuą sibote sógote so-jéną. joščšíwą káLu ikónana. i-kapáya. jedLéiska i-jkáju. škjnagą. (*Z*) jégipa serikete tógLo patkáiščLo kwtéi-te. dí-namą ną́Lagj tkóju ró daše šáwa. juka kagj i-atanagę.

11. ök-namą-te

1. ök-namą-te sejé kananegę. bigugę bukLu[377] késka jera jié kapajánami. jera dí-namą tkugęjú sejé wahLéwą. bigugé sejé šénawą digLó-ną jera jiéte so šawą tsiru šé. (*Z*) sejé sųąite tsiró Li. butsogęksąite je megągai-te itikigj. je-wa imigę tipo etka, etka, "so tsirú šo." ka pote ikuge.

2. maj tipo guaguá teišá, "ajo," jera jéska sejé šegęwąite. jera so kuLíto jųájtsąite.[378] jera ök-namą škinagá. teisuegę kaká tsinatuLamí. jera ijkáju bękti. togLo patkegęi-te išuLo serike-ra.

3. dí-namą ro seLwí. je-kueigj jekbLagę komi. jera jéska serike teišegętuą. (*Z*) kLabete tsiró ša jegopi kLabé migę serike-wą ök-namą-ją.

[776]

[843]

[371] This spirit guards the entrance to the world under the sea.
[372] Literally, "when."
[373] Literally, "die."
[374] Literally, "looks at."
[375] I.e., us.
[376] Literally, "pool other other."
[377] The mark of the water on the vegetation on the river banks is a sign of flood.
[378] A pregnant woman is said to be *JukLa*. The idea is that something evil or dangerous is in her (*see* Taboo).
[379] This signifies that the body is washed to the river bank and floats.